



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Advocate of Peace.

VOL. LXIV.

BOSTON, MAY, 1902.

No. 5

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
PUBLISHERS,
31 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

MONTHLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

TEN CENTS PER COPY.

Entered at the Boston Post Office as Second Class Matter.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

EDITORIALS 85-88

A Triennium of War's Brutalism and Debauchery—Further Progress of Arbitration—A World Legislature—Dr. Hale as a Practical Peacemaker—Annual Business Meeting.

EDITORIAL NOTES..... 88-92

The Future of Europe—Sir Andrew Clarke—Mr. Bloch's War and Peace Museum—Brutality in the Austrian Army—Horace Mann on War—Bushnell's Prophecy—Woman's Peace Demonstration—Sixto Lopez—Pan-American Conference—China and Russia—Playing with War.

BREVITIES 92-93

GENERAL ARTICLES.

Public Meeting in Tremont Temple in the Interests of Arbitration and Peace..... 93-103
Opening Remarks of Robert Treat Paine..... 93
Address of Hon. William I. Buchanan..... 94-100
Address of Dr. Edward Everett Hale..... 100-101
Address of Edwin D. Mead..... 101-103
Will England Adopt Conscription?..... 103-104

BOOK TABLE 104

Members of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration. 104-105

A Triennium of War's Brutalism and Debauchery.

The bottom has at last fallen out of the policy of concealment and denial, and all the heartless deeds done during three years in the Philippines lie revealed in a hideous mass before all eyes. Much has been known all along, by all who were willing to know; but now everybody must know. Concealment and denial are no longer possible. Men who hesitated to say anything while the star-chamber policy of suppression and giving the lie to accusing witnesses was on, have hastened by dozens to confirm the stories of water-torture, village burning, and butchery of unarmed Filipinos that had been filtering through from the first.

Even the Government, the War Department, the Senate Committee on the Philippines, the Taft Commission, the war party in Congress and among the people, the fire-eating newspapers, have found out at last that something base and inhuman has been taking place under American authority and American patronage. Senator Lodge's "patriotic" fears have been more than realized; our Philippine policy has got "above ground," out of his secret

committee room, and it "smells to heaven," as he said it would.

It is an appalling revelation. What is the lesson of it all? There are many minor ones, but the main lesson is that war is still the same ancient and immemorial hell; that it is cruelty and in its essential nature cannot be humanized; that it cannot be engaged in without moral degradation and besmirchment; that it lets loose and stimulates the bestial passions; that it makes men bloodthirsty, callous, cruel, vengeful, lustful; that it breaks down regard for the liberties, rights and lives of others; that it develops the spirit of lying and deceit in the field, of mental dishonesty and sophistry among its supporters at home; that it is doubly corrupting and dehumanizing when employed by a strong, professedly civilized people in aggression against one that is undeveloped and weak.

That war is all this, and much more, is the great lesson of these revelations. How many of our countrymen will take it to heart? Who will cry out against war itself as the guilty thing? There has been and will be plenty of condemnation of the men and officers who have, under orders or without orders, wantonly violated the so-called "laws of war," and turned themselves into brutal savages. The guilty parties are all running to cover. Each is trying to clear himself by the plea of "necessity" or by laying the blame on others. The courts-martial which have been ordered—and serious courts-martial themselves are only one of the inhuman phases of war—are almost sure to be mere cloaks for concealing the guilty forms of those who are the real culprits—those who brought on the war and have insisted that it be prosecuted "vigorously;" those who have turned loose and urged on its cruel passions and practices. They themselves will escape,—possibly by getting a few men shot, or imprisoned, or dismissed from the service and disgraced,—and they will thus convince themselves that they are kind and humane men, that war is a holy and clean thing, that this particular war, which has wantonly destroyed one-third of the population of one province and turned parts of the islands into a "howling wilderness," has been a just and benign instrument of the merciful God in extending his kingdom of righteousness, love, and goodwill! Oh that our countrymen might see the unfathomable shame and horror of the whole thing!

If any country ought to be able to wage a "civil.

ized" war, it certainly should be a professedly Christian country like ours, especially when fighting, as is claimed, in the name of civilization. But what success has attended the experiment? It has all been a miserable failure. In spite of the loud claims made at Washington and among supporters of the war elsewhere that our forces in the Philippines have been extraordinarily humane, gentle and patient, it has all at once become clear as noonday that in sections of the islands American officers and soldiers, not expecting that their doings would come to light, have been guilty of barbarities scarcely above the bestialities of the lowest savages. Revenge and retaliation have rarely ever been carried to harsher extremes. The claim of the country to be waging a righteous and humane war has utterly and ingloriously broken down. The war has been wicked in its purpose and immeasurably wicked in its methods, and no amount of continuance of it can change its character one jot or tittle.

It has been overwhelmingly proved once more—needless as the proof was—that there is no such thing as a righteous and humane war, and that there never can be. The purpose of a war may sometimes be righteous and humane—alas, how infrequently!—but war in itself, wherever waged and for whatever end, is always, in its deeds and in the dispositions and passions which it produces, a ghastly mockery of righteousness and humanity. Its savage and vicious heart always manifests itself in one way or another. When will the moral sense of the world see this simple fact?

Further Progress of Arbitration.

No important movement develops exactly along the lines which are marked out for it. The arbitration movement has had its surprises as well as others. Six years ago we all thought that the United States and Great Britain were the nations ripest for an arbitration treaty, and most certain to have one first. The effort to secure one failed. Not even at The Hague did the two English-speaking nations have any precedence over France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, or the Netherlands, in the effort for a tribunal for the pacific settlement of disputes. Since the Hague Conference they have taken no further joint step in the direction of making the provisions of the Hague treaty certain to be used by them. There is at the present moment no sign that they will soon do this.

Meanwhile the movement has gone on along other lines. The nineteen American republics, as we have heretofore stated, have at Mexico City agreed upon a convention by which they adhere to the Hague treaty, and another by which they pledge themselves to submit to the Hague Court all that class of questions arising from the claims of citizens

of one country against another for damages and indemnities. Ten of them have signed by their delegates a treaty for the submission of all their disputes to the Hague Court. The United States and Denmark, in the treaty for the cession of the Danish West Indies to this country, have agreed, by an article in the convention, to submit to the Hague Court all questions arising as to the interpretation of the treaty. The German and the Netherlands governments have done the same in a treaty regarding the construction of submarine cables in the Pacific, in cases where these cable lines may affect the interests of their respective colonies.

The governments of the United States and Mexico have just come to an agreement to submit to the Hague Court the celebrated case of the "Pious Fund," which has been on hand in one way or another ever since the cession of California to the United States at the close of the Mexican War. (For an account of this controversy, see "International Arbitrations," by John Bassett Moore, Vol. II., page 1348.) No one would have guessed that this step,—a step of immense significance,—the submission of the *first case* to the Hague Court, would have been taken by the United States and Mexico, and that the case referred would have been of such a nature. But so it is, and the ultimate importance of it is just as great as if the two parties had been the United States and Germany, or Great Britain and Russia.

But we have just now an encouraging surprise in another direction. The Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs took advantage of the presence at Mexico City of representatives from all the Spanish-American States, and instructed the Spanish Minister in Mexico, the Marquis de Prat, to arrange with them for the conclusion of arbitration treaties between their respective States and Spain. The Marquis de Prat, in obedience to his instructions, has pushed the matter and already signed conventions with Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Salvador, San Domingo and Uruguay, and similar treaties will shortly be signed with Peru, Honduras, Costa Rica and Venezuela.

According to the terms of these *nine treaties* already signed, all differences which may arise between these countries and Spain are to be submitted to arbitration. The arbitrator, in the first instance, is to be either the Chief of a Spanish-American State or a tribunal composed of Spaniards or Spanish-Americans. In case of a failure to agree upon such an arbitrator, it is provided that controversies shall go to the Hague Court.

The form of these treaties may not be all that could be desired, as they do not adopt the Hague Court as the tribunal of first reference; but this Court is recognized in them, and it will not be difficult under them, if they shall be ratified, for the